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ABSTRACT

Since the emergence of the concept of communicative competence, the language teaching field has focused on teaching appropriate language use in addition to general linguistic elements. Speech act studies have contributed to providing appropriate models for second and foreign language learners. In this paper, the effort toward the creation and use of appropriate models for learners in relation to the theoretical framework of planning in the field of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) is examined. The resulting construct, "appropriacy planning," is viewed as a process of corpus intervention for ESL learners consisting of four stages: selection of speech norms; codification; implementation; and evaluation or feedback. The contribution of speech act research to each of these stages, and perceived problems in research methodology and results, are discussed. Several problems in the research and, by extension, in appropriacy planning are identified: poor definition of targeted speech communities; insufficient communication between researchers and ESL teachers, resulting in teachers' continued reliance on native-speaker intuition in determining language appropriateness; and results that may be inappropriate for some contexts and audiences of ESL instruction. Areas for future research are noted. Contains 61 references. (MSE)

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Appropriacy Planning: Speech Acts Studies and Planning Appropriate Models for ESL Learners

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Appropriacy Planning: Speech Acts Studies and Planning Appropriate Models for ESL Learners

Mitsuo Kubota

Since the emergence of the concept of communicative competence (Hymes 1972a; 1972b), the language teaching field has focused on teaching appropriate language use in addition to general linguistic elements. Speech act studies have contributed to providing appropriate models for second and foreign language learners. In this paper, the effort toward the creation and use of appropriate models for learners in relation to the theoretical framework of planning in the field of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) is examined. Based on the findings of the examination and recent criticisms of the attitudes towards teaching appropriateness, directions for future research on communicative competence are proposed.

Although the intent of a series of speech act studies has never been referred to in language policy and planning literature as an aspect of language planning before, the underlying goal of the process, to plan socially appropriate speech models for ESL learners, shares some characteristics with the process of language planning. Thus, in this paper this process will be referred to as "appropriacy planning." Appropriacy planning shares the following three characteristics with the common definitions of general language planning theories: First, one motivation for conducting speech act studies was to provide models to teach socially appropriate speech behavior to ESL learners (e.g., Billmyer 1989). This resembles one aspect of language planning defined as discovering solution to language problems (e.g. Fishman 1971 cited in Karam 1974: 105; Bamgbose 1989: 26; Jernudd & Das Gupta 1971 cited in Fishman 1973: 24). Second, the information from speech acts studies has been used with the intention of changing ESL learners' language behavior (Cohen 1996) through a process involving deliberate intervention in language change (Cooper 1989: 45; Tollefson 1991: 16). Finally, as Saville-Troike (1996: 353) stated, the goal of the studies has been to discover and formulate prescriptive rules of appropriate language use. This is also one of the common characteristics of language planning which deals with the nature of normative or prescriptive linguistics (Haugen 1966: 51-52; Haugen 1969: 287 cited in Karam 1974: 105;

Bamgbose 1989: 26).

The emphasis on appropriate language use in the field of language teaching has its origin in the concept of communicative competence (Hymes 1972a, 1972b; Savignon 1972 cited in Savignon 1983[1]. As opposed to Chomsky (1965), who was solely interested in examining the hypothetical ideal speaker-hearer's speech to theorize competence, Hymes (1972b) emphasized the importance of integrating a speech community's rules for appropriate language use in a given social context with the notion of competence. This concept had a tremendous impact on the field of language teaching. Researchers started to seek pedagogical applications of this notion (e.g. Paulston 1974; Canale and Swain 1980; Canale 1983 cited in Savignon 1983). Among these researchers' interpretations of Hymes's concept, Canale and Swain's isolation of three, and later four, theoretical components[2] provided a clear guideline for language teachers, and has been widely accepted as a useful interpretation of communicative competence.

In spite of the need to teach rules of speaking, sufficient and adequate descriptions of sociocultural rules of appropriateness were lacking (Wolfson 1989: 79). Formulating explicit rules for non-native speakers to understand unfamiliar culture-specific speech patterns came to be one of the goals in the field of language teaching (Savignon 1983: 37). The Cross-Cultural Speech Acts Realization Project (CCSARP) was promoted to uncover the cross-cultural differences in two specific speech acts: requests and apologies (see Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper 1989 for a detailed description of this project). This project not only provided an ample source of data for speech acts, but also produced useful instruments for data collection and schema for coding the data (Cohen 1996: 387). Since then many researchers have started to conduct studies of speech acts[3] largely with the intention of contributing to materials development and language teaching.

Language planning theory includes several components in its framework. As described above, appropriacy planning is a process of corpus intervention for ESL learners. Thus, I will discuss the case of appropriacy planning in relation to corpus cultivation in the integrative framework created by Hornberger (1994)[4] with the specific focus on the following four stages identified by a number of researchers (e.g., Fishman 1979; Haugen 1983; Rubin 1977)[5]:

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1. It seems that both Hymes and Savignon came up with the concept of communicative competence at the same time period. However, the discussion for this paper is primarily based on Hymes' proposal.
2. grammatical, sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic competence
3. These researchers and studies will be introduced in the section on "Selection of norm/Fact finding."
4. HornbergerÔs framework is based on the following scholarsÔ works: Ferguson, 1968; Kloss, 1968; Stewart, 1968; Neustupny 1974; Haugen, 1983; Nahir, 1984; Cooper 1989.
5. Fishman (1979) includes decision making stage, elaboration stage and evaluation stage. Haugen (1983) includes selection of norm, codification of norm, implementation of function and elaboration of function. Rubin (1977:284) includes fact finding, establishing goals, strategies and outcomes, implementation and feedback.

(1) Selection of norms

(2) Codification

(3) Implementation

(4) Evaluation/Feedback

The discussion of the selection of norms will reveal problems in the process for finding norms of interaction for ESL learners. Specifically, the following two questions will be examined: How did the researchers uncover norms of interaction? Who was chosen to represent the norms of the culture? In order to answer these two questions, the studies introduced in Cohen (1996: 397-407), and Wolfson (1989: 79-108) will be reviewed since the combination of these studies introduced in these two reviews will provide a comprehensive view of empirically based speech act studies (Cohen 1996: 398). Concerning codification of norms, the question of how the findings were codified, that is, how ESL textbooks were written based on the findings of the studies, will be discussed. For implementation, how the findings were incorporated into instruction will be discussed based on research that examined the impact of formal instruction on the development of sociolinguistic competence. Finally, how the TESOL field has reacted to the process of appropriacy planning will be discussed in the section of evaluation.

Selection of Norms

Before empirical findings of speech acts studies were available, ESL teachers had to rely on their native-speaker intuition to teach rules of speaking. Wolfson (1989: 37), however, questioned the adequacy of the use of native-speakers' intuition for teaching because of the unconscious nature of rules of speaking and norms of interaction. She stated that "native speakers' opinions about what is right and wrong, good and bad, are reflections of community norms or attitudes and have little to do with the actual use of the individual who expresses them"(Wolfson 1989: 40).

Because of the inadequacy of the use of native-speakers' intuition, Wolfson (1989: 48) emphasized the necessity of collecting information on sociolinguistic rules for textbook writers and ESL teachers. Empirical research that attempts to identify and define speech acts has been conducted since the 1960s. As a result, a growing body of empirically-based information on the strategies for performing speech acts has become available. Consequently, the approach for teaching rules of speaking has changed from being based on intuition and anecdote, to empirical evidence, in the last fifteen years (Cohen 1996: 385).

Among the voluminous number of studies covered in reviews by Wolfson (1989) and Cohen (1996), 23 were selected based on the following

Table 1
Methods for collecting speech acts data

	N	%
Naturally occurring data	6	26.1
Experimentally elicited data	14	60.9
Natural + experimental data	3	13.0
Total	23	100.0

criteria in order to examine the questions addressed above[6]:

(1) the studies must be empirically based

(2) the studies must look at American English

(3) the studies must look at adults

(4) the studies must be published after 1980

The rationale for setting criteria (1), (2), and (3) are solely based on the researcher's interest in applications of empirical findings in American English for adult learners. Criterion (4) was set because the studies after 1980 have played the most influential role in accumulating speech acts data sources for the TESOL field (Cohen 1996: 385). Only published studies were included for accessibility and availability reasons.

Two distinctive methods have been widely used for collecting speech acts data. One is to observe naturally occurring speech acts, often described as an ethnographic approach, and the other is to elicit speech acts experimentally through methods such as the discourse completion test (DCT) and role play situations. First used by CCSARP, DCT has been widely used in this field to collect speech act data, because of its effectiveness for gathering a large amount of data quickly. As seen in Table 1, a large number of studies were conducted using experimental elicitation techniques. Examining the validity of these methods for collecting data has been a hot issue, and is currently debated in the literature (e.g. Beebe & Takahashi

6. The following 23 studies were included for this examination: Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1991; Bardovi-Harlig & Hartford, 1993; Beebe & Cumming, 1996;Beebe & Takahashi, 1989(a); Beebe & Takahashi, 1989(b); Beebe & Takahashi, 1990; Benander, 1990; Blum-Kulka, 1982; Blum-Kulka, 1989; Boxer, 1989; Clark & French, 1981; Cohen & Olshtain, 1981; Creese, 1991; Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986; Goldschmidt, 1989; Kipers, 1986; Linnell & Porter, et al., 1992; Olshtain, 1983; Olshtain & Cohen, 1983; Owen, 1980; Takahashi & Beebe, 1993; Wolfson, 1981; Wolfson, 1983. One of the articles includes two studies. Detailed information appears in thebibliography. Under the time constraint and unavailability of materials, I was not able to collect all materials introduced in Cohen (1996) and Wolfson (1989).

1989; Beebe & Cumming 1996; Varghese & Billmyer 1996). This issue is beyond the scope of this paper, it will therefore not be discussed further.

As stated above, most of the researchers of speech act studies have intended to provide useful information for textbook writers and language teachers. Therefore, selection of subjects is a crucial issue because it determines the type of data that will be used as a base for creating appropriate models for learners.

Researchers that employed naturally occurring data have tended to collect data indiscriminately. These researchers attempted to collect data that represents American norms of interaction, avoiding a biased representation. The following statement made in one of the studies conducted by Wolfson (1981: 9) represents the nature and philosophy of this type of research:

> The data ... were gathered through observation and participation in a great variety of spontaneously occurring speech situations. Although no claim is made that the analyses of speech patterns presented here is representative of all speakers of American English, every effort was made to sample the speech of people from as broad a range of occupational and educational backgrounds as possible.

Although researchers of these studies have claimed that they collected data widely enough to represent American speech norms, the information they provide concerning their subjects is vague, and therefore readers of the studies are not able to have a clear idea of exactly who the subjects were. The reliability of this type of research in providing an accurate assessment of the norms of interaction for American English is questionable. However, as Saville-Troike (1996: 366) states, "the selection of regional variety and register becomes an important issue when curricular priorities are established." Thus, if the population of the studies cannot be clearly distinguished, it is difficult to actually apply the research to textbook writing or teaching, particularly when learners have specific goals for studying English, or a specific speech community that they intend to join.

As opposed to studies that employ natural observations, experimental studies tend to provide more detailed information on subjects. Gender, age, occupations, and regional variety of subjects of the 14 experimental studies will be examined to see who was chosen for an appropriate model for learners.

Gender

There are 213 subjects included in the 14 studies. Based on my experience as an ESL student and a teacher prior to this examination, I had an intuitive feeling that speech act models that appear in ESL textbooks, and the examples that teachers provide in a classroom, are heavily based on

Table 2
Gender of the subjects

	N	%
Male	31	14.6
Female	78	36.6
Unspecified	104	48.8
Total	213	100.0

female speech norms. Thus, I , as a male, have not always been comfortable incorporating those models into my repertoire. The result of this examination supports my intuition to some extent (see Table 2). More than twice as many females, 36.6% of the subjects, were specified for the studies compared to males, 14.6% of the subjects. Moreover, the gender of a surprisingly large number of the subjects was unspecified, 48.8% of the subjects.

This reveals one of the problematic aspects of the speech act studies. If these studies have been conducted to uncover norms of interaction in American English, researchers should have been more sensitive to variables such as gender. As Freeman and McElhinny (1996: 220-221) note, culturally contextualized activities, such as various speech acts productions, are structured by ideologies, or cultural values and beliefs. These ideologies may function to constrain people's language use about gender identities and relationships, and are reflected in English. Freeman and McElhinny also stress the importance for ESL teachers to discuss the way gender interacts with culture in the United States to describe social variation to their students (247). In this sense, if the studies do not provide information on the gender of research subjects, teachers have no way to access the findings of the studies for use in their classrooms.

Age

In addition to gender, age is one of the other variables that influences people's choices of speech style (Labov 1968, 1972a, 1972b). Seven studies sis not provide any age information, four studies provided a mean age of the subjects, and 3 studies provided a range of age of the subjects. The mean age and the range of age provide an approximate idea of the subjects' age for readers. The intention of selecting a wide range of subjects in terms of age may have been the researchers' attempt to represent the American norms of interaction. This type of information is useful to furnish students with general norms of interaction in American culture, however, it may be less useful if students have a specific target group to which they would like to assimilate. In addition, half of the studies did not provide information about age. In considering the influence of age on speech productions, the missing information on age, just as with gender, may create problems when textbook writers and teachers attempt to incorporate these studies' findings.

Table 3
Occupations of the subjects

	N	%
Academic	87	40.8
Unspecified	126	59.2
Total	213	100.0

Occupation

Occupation is one of the crucial variables in determining what "speech community" the subjects belong to. Within a speech community, people share rules of speaking and interpretation of speech performance (Hymes 1972a: 34-35). Because of this, it is essential for the speech act studies to specify the subjects' occupations. As seen in Table 3, many of the subjects were chosen from the field of higher education. This includes students, professors, and secretaries who work for universities. The preponderance of subjects from the academic field may be due to the accessibility of such subjects since most of the researchers are affiliated with a university. Presumably many adult ESL students in the US may be intending to go to a university. Thus, information based on these people in the academic field may be useful for these students. However, it may not be as useful for students whose target community is business or industry instead. Again, a large portion of subjects, 59.2%, is still unspecified, and this may create problems in applying the findings to material development and classroom instruction.

Regional variety

In terms of the regional variety of the subjects' speech, none of the studies specified this information. Some of the studies reveal general idea of regional variety in the descriptions of research, such as "the research was conducted in the Philadelphia area", or "urban New York". However, this information does not ensure a specific variety. First, it is difficult to identify and specify a speaker's speech variety. In addition, because many of the studies are conducted in urban areas which experience fluctuations in population make-up, people in one area do not necessarily exhibit the characteristics of that regional variety.

Codification of norms

As mentioned before, one of the goals of CCSARP was to contribute to materials developers, particularly textbook writers (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper 1989: 27). Similarly, most researchers who conduct speech acts studies have indicated their intention to provide useful information for the creation of lively and interesting ESL textbooks (e.g. Wolfson 1989: 79; Beebe, personal communication, February 28, 1996). However, as compared with the relatively large body of studies on various speech acts, and in spite of the researchers stressing the possible contributions for material develop-

ment, there is surprisingly little research available that examines how the research findings are being utilized in creating teaching materials.

One of the few such studies was conducted by Billmyer et al. in 1989. Although it has been seven years since the study was presented, ESL textbooks that focus on acquiring the use of various speech acts have not been published much after the 1990s, so that the textbooks examined in this study are still widely used for teaching various speech acts formulas.

In this study, the researchers examined ten ESL textbooks (see Appendix) that claim to teach the rules of language use. They selected those that were published, mostly in the late in 1980s, a period ESL textbook writers were more likely to have a chance to incorporate empirical findings of speech acts studies since a great deal of empirically-based information of speech act studies had became available at this time (Billmyer et al. 1989: 2-3). The researchers had two foci in examining textbooks: the pedagogical organization of the textbooks and the relationship between the content and the research findings.

In terms of the organization of the textbooks, the researchers isolated the most typical categories found such as presentational or illustrative dialogues, lists of phrases, and oral production exercises. These categories introduce a variety of prescribed speech act formulas, and students are asked to produce them. The researchers warned of the danger of simply practicing the formulas stating that students could end up parroting phrases without reflecting the appropriate social contexts (Billmyer et al. 1989: 5). They emphasized the importance of including categories such as exercises that require students to recognize and interpret a speech act in context, and discussion and analysis activities of a speech act activities that few textbooks included.

In examining how empirical findings of speech act studies were incorporated into ESL textbooks, the researchers found that content did not reflect empirical research findings. According to the study, only two out of ten textbooks cited empirical research. Based on their examinations, three of the textbooks reflected empirical investigations to some extent, although the books did not explicitly provide the source of the research. They judged that five of the books included extremely limited information from empirical research (Billmyer et al. 1989: 13-18).

Their findings reveal the negative aspects of the materials, such as the lack of activities that require students to reflect upon the social context, and the failure to incorporate empirical findings. However, in light of the previous discussion, the question arises as to whether the empirical research really provided useful information for textbook writers or not. As described in the section on selection of norm, the researchers did not provide enough information about the subjects' background. This may have precluded the textbook writers from incorporating the information. Or the discrepancy between the native-speakers' intuitions and the reality as seen by the textbook writers may have caused them to normalize the re-

search findings to make them more appropriate to their native-speaker intuitions.

Implementation

Cohen (1996: 383) stresses that an understanding of speech act theory and practice will assist ESL instructors in teaching more contextually appropriate speech in the target language. However, very few studies have examined how teachers apply speech acts studies to their classrooms and the impact of explicit or implicit instruction in the development of appropriate speech production as Cohen (1996: 409) pointed out. Surprisingly, most of the studies have been published in local publications rather than widely read major journals. This relative lack of studies can be interpreted in several ways. First, in spite of the field's strong emphasis on developing sociolinguistic competence, the empirical studies do not provide specific enough information to apply to actual classrooms, therefore, teachers are experiencing difficulties in implementation. This, in turn, leads to an insufficient number of classrooms which the researchers can study. In addition, the development of sociolinguistic competence is difficult to measure, hence, conclusions are difficult to draw. There are, however, two studies that have looked at the effect of teaching speech acts. Interestingly, one of the studies shows a promising result of instruction, and the other shows little or no effect of instruction.

Billmyer (1990) examined the effect of formal instruction on acquiring skills for giving and replying to compliments. She compared a tutored group to an untutored group to examine the difference in acquisition. All the subjects for the study were Japanese females. During a 12 week period, the tutored group received a total of six hours of explicit instruction on the forms and functions of compliments and replies in addition to general skills ESL courses. During this period, the learners met with their American conversation partners who had been asked by the researchers to perform certain tasks designed to induce compliments. The tape-recorded data of these tasks were evaluated based on the frequency of the learners' use of compliments, level of initiation, appropriateness, and linguistic accuracy. Billmyer concluded that "formal instruction of social rules of language use can assist learners in communicating more appropriately with native speakers of the target language in meaningful social interaction outside of the classroom" (Billmyer 1990: 31).

King and Silver (1993) looked at a different speech act: refusal strategies. Compared to Billmyer's study, their study was small and tested a relatively short period of retention of the effects of instruction. Their control group received regular ESL instruction, and the treatment group that received both explicit and implicit instruction on refusal strategies for one 70-minute-session in addition to regular ESL instruction. The participants' performance on refusal was tested through discourse questionnaires one week after instruction, and two weeks later through a telephone call re-

questing the participants to perform a burdensome activity at a time known to conflict with their schedules. The results of the study showed little effect on the discourse questionnaire, and no effect in performance on the telephone tests.

The reasons for the discrepancies of the results of these two studies are uncertain. However, these studies may reveal important questions for implementing the findings of empirically-based speech act studies. First, Billmyer had access to ample empirical findings for teaching compliment strategies of American English, and was able to incorporate these into the instruction, whereas due to time constraints, King and Silver were unable to obtain access to such studies. This caused them to create formulas for instruction, presumably relying on their native-speaker intuition. Although it cannot be concluded that the effectiveness of instruction depends on whether empirical data were incorporated into instruction or not, the incorporation of such information still needs to be examined. In addressing the problem of developing materials, researchers need to communicate with practitioners more to meet actual classroom needs. King and Silver (1993: 74) expressed their concerns as follows:

> A more complete description of American English refusal strategies is required. Without this information, it is impossible to begin to design accurate lessons on American English refusals. In addition, information about the saliency of the constituents would be useful when considering what to teach. If we knew which elements of refusals were most salient to native-speakers, instruction might focus on those elements.

Second, the way King and Silver tested the students' production was quite different from Billmyer's study. In Billmyer's study, the students were tested during a session with their conversation partners. In this situation the students had already established relationships with their partners. In addition, the speech act patterns for compliments were practiced with the same partner. This may have created a comfortable situation for the students to try out what they had learned. In contrast, King and Silver called up the participants of the study suddenly, and the participants were asked to perform in a psychologically unprepared situation. This difference for testing may have played a role in causing different conclusions.

Finally, the number of hours of instruction on the speech acts, and the period for the instruction are quite different between these two studies. As Olshtain and Cohen (1990) indicated, acquiring native-like sociolinguistic competence is a long and arduous process. Learners usually take up to 10 years to acquire native-like competence, but still maintain features that are particular to their native language. Based on the research findings, it is

clear that learners acquire sociolinguistic competence by experiencing many different types of interactions with different people in different contexts over an extended time period. Thus, it may not be feasible to teach sociolinguistic competence as a skill in a microcosm classroom culture that does not necessarily match that of the outside world (Paulston 1974, as cited in Savignon 1983: 25; Hornberger 1989: 229; Saville-Troike 1996: 364).

Evaluation/feedback

Although speech act studies have contributed to the planning and teaching of appropriacy for ESL learners, there are, as discussed above, a number of problems identified in this process. In this section, the process of appropriacy planning will be reexamined by presenting some recent concerns for teaching appropriateness from researchers in sociolinguistics.

Even before speech act studies became available, and before the pedagogical implications of these studies were incorporated into instruction in a systematic way, Paulston (1974: 354 as cited in Saville-Troike 1996: 366) expressed concern about imposing prescribed expressions on language learners. In her opinion, teaching these prescribed expressions and requiring students to produce them are problematic because the process denotes eradication of social interactional rules of their first language in order to substitute another. The ideological struggle that learners experience in the process of learning a second or foreign language needs to be taken into consideration to provide a less painful learning experience (Chick 1996: 343).

In relation to the consideration of the learners' ideologies, some researchers are questioning whether target language norms are the only appropriate goals of second language learners. Saville-Troike (1996: 363) expresses the danger of teaching only target language norms, as these norms "in many cases constitute an inappropriate target for instruction." Even though learners live in the target language speech community, their attempts to imitate the norms of the language such as the use of polite expressions, may be perceived as inappropriate by native-speakers (Iino 1996). Kubota (1996) examined request patterns of American learners of Japanese. He studied five learners who had extensive experience living and working in a target language culture. These learners developed styles, which, although not native-like, allowed them to feel comfortable, while still not committing a violation of the rules. This research finding suggests that the major task of language teachers may be to assist learners to define a "third place" for themselves that is not only appropriate for the target language culture, but also preferable for the learner (Kramsch 1993: 257).

In addition to the concern for learners' psychological conflicts in learning and incorporating new cultural norms, Fairclough (1989: 8) states that imposing prescribed appropriate formulas might hinder healthy social mobility. Sociolinguistic studies have shown that there are systematic correlations between variations in linguistic form and social variables (p. 7).

However, if language teachers use these findings as models, and require their students to imitate them, the instruction would play a role in perpetuating the present societal characteristics. Language teachers need to be aware that they are playing a role in the underlying power relations of the society, and legitimizing the facts believed in the society through imposing the findings of sociolinguistic studies, which may or may not be appropriate (Fairclough 1989: 8).

There are also criticisms of the nature of the process of speech act studies that place too much emphasis on identifying and formulating surface structures of rules of speaking. It is inevitable for second language learners to pay close attention to surface structures that are internalized and unconscious to native speakers (Labov 1979: 229). However, problems arise in the process of formulating models of surface structures. Although sociolinguistic studies have shown the correlations between speakers' speech style and characteristics of speakers' distinct speech communities, such as ethnicity, social class, regional variety, gender, age, and occupational background (Fairclough 1989: 8), researchers of speech acts studies tend to overemphasize the characteristics. These researchers' attempts have resulted in the creation of model dialogues in ESL textbooks that are oftentimes stereotypical, even though they are formulated on empirical findings (Erickson 1996: 291-292). Erickson continues:

> What may be intended by curriculum developers as "high-fidelity" simulation is in fact a "low-fidelity" simulation. People do not really learn to converse by memorizing written dialogues and speaking them aloud in practice sessions, even if the dialogue text comes from a detailed transcription of naturally occurring speech.

If language teachers attempt to push learners to understand deeper levels of communicative competence beyond surface linguistic structures, the considerations of psychological and sociolinguistic factors may influence the constitution of the norms of interaction (Saville-Troike 1996: 367). Once findings of speech act studies are formulated into model dialogues that we can see in ESL textbooks, the appropriateness introduced in the dialogues tends to be seen as static, and the factors that are specific to a context would be left out.

In response to the problems of formulating appropriate models, some researchers advocate views that look at the creation of appropriacy in face-to-face interaction as more fluid or dynamic (Erickson 1996: 292; Iino 1996). Erickson states that what is always at work creating the appropriacy in a particular situation is the mutual influence of interactants. After examining dinner table conversations between American students and Japanese host families, Iino (1996) found that appropriacy is always negotiated and

defined between interactants situationally and personally. This finding suggests that the models introduced in textbooks may not be appropriate in a different situation or when they are produced by a person with a different background.

Considering the criticism and problems in teaching sociolinguistic competence discussed above, I would like to present some suggestions made by researchers that the language teachers can incorporate into classroom instruction. Saville-Troike (1996) introduced the use of "ethnography of communication" in teaching the norms of a target language. Learners can benefit by using this technique to find the norms of the language culture by themselves. Learners are often required to go out and observe what native-speakers are really doing, interpreting the meaning specific to the context (Saville-Troike 1996: 376). This technique seems to be gaining popularity as a method for teaching rules of speaking. However, problems still arise because of its time-consuming nature, and inapplicability in the foreign language teaching context. To solve this problem, Erickson (1996:298-299) suggests the use of videotapes in classrooms. According to Erickson, videotaped materials of naturally occurring speech behaviors provide learners with deeper insights on the target language's norms of interaction.

Conclusion

Several problematic aspects of appropriacy planning have been identified. First, researchers in speech act studies tended to be negligent in defining the speech community that they were looking at. This resulted in material developers' difficulty in incorporating findings into their textbooks. Second, researchers may not have had sufficient communication with language teachers. Hence, the teachers still end up relying on their native-speakers' intuition in teaching appropriateness because of the lack of appropriate information. Finally, the appropriacy identified by researchers may not be applicable for all situations and all learners.

Needless to say, information in ESL textbooks, and classroom activities should reflect the reality that ESL learners will face in their lives, and empirically based findings may provide useful information that reflects reality. However, if the intention of researchers in speech act studies is really to contribute to materials development, researchers should communicate with textbook writers, and teachers in order to uncover what types of information are sought for textbook writing.

The focus of the TESOL field has shifted from prescribing and teaching appropriate formulas to building sensitivity toward appropriateness. Teachers are now required to make decisions on what to teach explicitly, and how to guide learners to identify and define appropriateness for themselves. I strongly feel the necessity for conducting research regarding developing learners' communicative competence in order to provide teachers with clearer guidance. First, the appropriateness of speech behavior for second language learners needs to be redefined. Second, the effect of

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building the learners' sensitivity through introducing technique such as "ethnography of communication" on the development of sociolinguistic competence needs to be examined. Third, whether learners really experience an ideological struggle or not in incorporating new cultural norms needs to be investigated. Finally, what type of information and teaching technique make teachers feel more comfortable and empowered need to be examined. I believe that these types of studies will shed light on determining what needs to be done for development of ESL learners' sociolinguistic competence.

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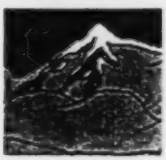

APPENDIX

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